000
[361]
[703]
[197]
*[179]

a difference in language spoken by these two groups of people. However, all such Carib language distinctions are being rapidly lost as the language is undergoing modification with the increased centralization of the population and reliance on English.

[7]Baramita and Baramita Air Strip are two separate settlements.

[8]This number was depleted by thirty-two. These people recently had gone to Matthew's Ridge. Also, the entire population of Anama, thirty-two persons, had gone with them. At this time, nineteen from In Time had gone to Matthew's Ridge as well.

[166] [9]This common size may represent a decrease in the mobility of the Carib population among different remote settlements as reported by Gillin.

[10]An old man and wife, too decrepit to travel, were located at Piai.

[127] [11]Data for this necessarily diachronic perspective on the population sizes are available from a variety of sources. These include Gillin's census data (1936), government census estimates and records, reports of the Malaria Eradication Programme, voting registration lists, and population data collected in the Upper Barama River area during the 1970-71 field work. The diversity of these quantitative [163] reports presents several problems. First of all, the Caribs do not record their birth dates. Nor do they place any emphasis on remembering how old any individual is. Consequently, all recorded ages are estimates made by the observer. Some age data were collected by the nominal categories of adult and child. Furthermore, with varying purposes for collecting population data, territorial units have not been consistent. In different enumerations the Upper Barama River area has been aggregated with portions of adjacent territory. Although these data limitations underscore the conditions of less than laboratory control involved in studying human behavioral adaptations, they do not preclude inquiry.

• [184] [12]Among the Carib women at Baramita Air Strip this pattern appears to be particular to each woman and not related to seasons or other cyclical events.

Kloos reports a similar pattern for the interval between births for the Maroni River Caribs of Surinam. In this instance, women are tending to reproduce a child every thirty months over a period of thirty years (1971:102).

[845] [13]Of course, this calculation does not account for twins or other multiple births. Among the Carib women at Baramita Air Strip, two have given birth to twins which are discriminated against in no way.

*177 During employment in mining, a spree lasted only a number of
527 hours. Participation clearly crosscut resource-sharing social units.
182 The spree served to bring together people whose daily activities tended to provide no other basis for contact. The cassiri spree was also used to gain job reinstatement in inducing other Carib miners to neglect work schedules. At Baramita Air Strip, cassiri sprees continue to bring a large number of people together in a party atmosphere for only a number of hours. It has been held to distribute food and clear up any residue of obligations for participants in a kaiyap or group work day. Also, the Amerindian Captain has
[622] sponsored sprees which include all the residents of the Air Strip and coincide with national Guyanese holidays. At other times, sprees are held among neighbors. Time depth is achieved only when a number of people hold sprees more or less in succession, which might happen during a weekend. Participation is by verbal invitation and the participants at each spree vary. In the different organizational contexts, the cassiri spree has been used as a communication event for different expressions and to convey different purposes.

*177 Reports on other Carib populations affected by regional economies
184 are available. The villagers of Cachama and Mamo in Venezuela
594 (Schwerin 1966) and the Maroni River Caribs of Surinam (Kloos 1971) tend to be primarily organized in nuclear families. The Caribs of Cachama and the Maroni River reserve some economic ties within a larger kinship group, usually the nuclear families of parents and adult offspring, especially daughters. Families in such a group tend to live near each other. Basically, these Caribs remain

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

*177 subsistence agriculturalists but release labor for market endeavors
• 184 involving local commodities. The Caribs of Mamo in Venezuela are
594 singularly organized as nuclear families. These people have had
*177 opportunities for direct employment in industry. In no case are
101 these other Carib populations as impacted as the Upper Barama River
184 Carib population relative to access to regional transportation and communication and dependent on specific middlement to convey the
*177 limited market opportunities. Markets for employment and local
592 commodities have involved the Upper Barama River Caribs. However, the conditions under which market opportunities have been available have tended to separate households as well as extend them in specific cases in which client employment relationships with a middleman patron have been generated.

In conclusion, local and external resources in the context of their availability and the extent of their convertibility, or lack of it, into other forms have combined to produce the economic environment of the Upper Barama River Carib population. Clearly, aspects of social organization and changes in them, as detailed, are related to resource opportunities. With the transience of local as well as external resources, the unit of social organization which has persisted is the household.

121 182 *177 [131] [133] It would appear that studies of the relationships between population size and competition for local and external resources in the process of modernization, as in the case of the Upper Barama River Caribs, are appropriate in many similar situations throughout the world. In the Guyanas, which includes the area bounded by the Rio Negro, Amazon and Orinoco rivers, local Amerindian populations are subject to a variety of geographical environments and regional influences. The geographical areas include coastal, inland mountain-savannah, and interfluvial rain forest environments (Gillin 1948:800). Nevertheless, each area is not monolithic regarding the regional influences of national agencies, missionary groups, and entrepreneural agents which also generate adaptive strategies on the part of local populations.

*177 182 171 184 [101] For example, the interfluvial area in which the Upper Barama River Caribs are found is also inhabited by other Amerindian populations, including Caribs, with different adaptations. Along the border between Venezuela and Brazil, the Yanomamö (Chagnon 1968) adapt essentially to the rain forest and engage in warfare, characterized by its attrition, which contributes to the dispersion and limitation of this population. Although they rely on the European introduced plantain as the staple crop, they are largely unaffected by direct external influences. By contrast, the Trio (Rivière 1969), a Carib speaking group, have been recently nucleated around mission stations, a Roman Catholic mission in Brazil and two Protestant missions in Surinam. Carib groups outside the interfluvial area also add contrast to the adaptations of the Upper Barama River Caribs.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

*177 182 184 More modernized groups include the Caribs of the Maroni River in Surinam (Kloos 1971) and those in western Venezuela (Schwerin 1966) who are differently affected by the economies of the nations of which they are a part. The diversity of local environments and regional influences invite comparative inquiry concerning economic and reproductive adjustments of local populations. Such inquiries among the Amerindians of the Guyanas remain tied to the realities of the developing world and concern the initial stages of the integration of local populations into national political economies.

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